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Ames p 250.



GEO. CHALMERS ESQ.

F.R.S.S.A.

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F.R.S.S.A.

W. Herbert  
1778.

292

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¶ The true order  
and Methode of wryting  
and reading Hystories, ac-  
cording to the precepts of Francis-  
co Patricio, and Accontio Triden-  
tino, two Italian writers, so lesse plainly  
than briefly, set forth in our vulgar speech,  
to the great profice and commoditie of all  
those that delight in Hystories. By  
Thomas Mandeuill of New-  
ton Plotman in Nor-  
folke.

Anno. 1574.

W

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Seres. 2

*Firmo Appoggio*



# To the most Noble Erle of Leycester.



Nowynge youre  
Honor amongst o-  
ther your good de-  
lyghtes, to dellyght  
moſte in reading of  
Hystories, the true

Image and portraiture of Mans lyfe,  
and that not as many doe, to paſſe  
away the tyme, but to gather there-  
of ſuch iudgement and knowledge  
as you may therby be the more able,  
as well to direct your private acti-  
ons, as to giue Counſell lyke a moſt  
prudent Counſeller in publyke cau-  
ſes, be it matters of warre, or peace:  
I that haue no other meane to ſhewe  
my thankfull mynde towards your  
Honor from tyme to tyme, but with  
yncke and Paper: thought I coulde  
not wryte of anye thing more plea-  
ſing, or more gratefull, than of thoſe  
preceptes that belong to the order

A.ij.

of

**THE EPISTLE,**  
of wryting and reading Hystories,  
which preceptes I partly collected  
out of the tenne Dialogues of *Francisco Parricio*, a Methodicall writer of  
such matter, and partly out of a lit-  
tle written Treatyse, which myne  
olde friende of good memorie, *Ac-  
tontio* did not many yeares since pre-  
sent to your Honor in the Italian  
tongue, of whych my labour and  
good wyll, I most humbly beseech  
your Honour to allowe, wyth that  
faourable iudgement, which you  
haue alwayes heretofore vsed to-  
wards me, and therewith to continue  
my good Lord vntyll I shall  
deserue the con-  
trary.

*Maß bounde to your Honor,*

*Thomas Blundenill.*



3 The true order and  
*methode of writing*  
and reading hy-  
storyes. &c.



N Hystorye  
ought to declare  
the thynges in  
suche order, as  
they were done.

And bycause e-  
uery thing hath hys beginning  
augmentacion, state, declination,  
and ende: The writer ought ther-  
fore to tell the things, so as therby  
a man may perceiue and discerne,  
that which apparteyneth to euery  
degree, and that, not onely as tou-  
ching the Countrey or Citie: but  
also as touching the rule or domi-  
nion thereof. For the beginning,  
augmentacion, state, declynacion,  
and



*The true order and methode of*  
and ende of a Countrey or Citie,  
and of the empire thereof, be not  
all one, but diuers things.

Four things would be dispar-  
sed thoroughout the history, that  
is to saye, the trade of lyfe, the  
publique reuenewes, the force, &  
the maner of gouernement. By  
knowing what trade of lyfe, the  
Countrey or Citie in every tyme  
and season hath vsed, we learne  
howe to haue lyke in like times.  
Agayne, by knowving the reue-  
news and what things haue bene  
done therewith, we come to know  
vwhat the Countrey or Citie is  
able to doe. The force consisteth  
in Souldiours, in the maner, of  
the militar discipline, in the Na-  
uies, in Munition, and instru-  
ments of vvarre. And the vvriter  
must not forget to shew vvwhether  
the

*writing and reading histories, &c.*

the Souldiours be hyred foreners,  
or home Souldiours, for lacke  
whereof *Polibius* hath giuen great  
cause of woonder vnto thys age,  
bycause all Italie at this present,  
is not able to leaue the tenth part  
of the number of Souldiours,  
which the Romans leauied in his  
tyme, enioying all that tyme,  
neyther *Liguria*, *Lombardie*, *Romania*,  
nor *Marcapiana*. And yet as the  
foresayde *Polibius* vvryteth, they  
vvwere able to set forth foure score  
thousande footemen, and three  
score thousand horsemen. And in  
their firste vvwarres agaynst Car-  
thage, being only Lords of Italie,  
they dyd sende a nauie to the sea  
of three hundred and thirtie great  
Gallyes, called *Quinqueremi*, and  
nowv the Turke for all his great-  
nesse is scant able to sende to the  
sea,

*The true order and methode of*  
sea, so many small Gallies.

The vvriter also muste shew  
vvhat kinde of gouernement the  
Countrie or Citie had in hir be-  
ginning, augmentation, state, de-  
clynation, and ende. And whi-  
ther there vv ere any chaunge of  
gouernemēt, for vvhat cause, and  
howe the same vv as done, and  
vvhat good or cuill ensued there-  
of.

Hystories bee made of deedes  
done by a publique vv eale, or a-  
gaynst a publique vv eale, and  
such deedes, be eyther deedes of  
vvarre, of peace, or else of sediti-  
on and conspiracie. Agayne, eue-  
ry deede, be it priuate, or publique  
must needs be done by some per-  
son, for some occasion, in some-  
tyme, and place, with meanes &  
order, and vvith instruments, all  
vvhich

vvhich circumstaunces are not to be forgotten of the vvriter, and specially those that haue accompanied and brought the deede to effect. Euery deed that man doth, springeth eyther of some out-vvarde cause, as of force, or fortune, (vvhich properlye ought not to be referred to man:) or else of some invvard cause belonging to man: of vvhich causes there be two, that is, reason and appetite. Of reason springeth counsell and election, in affaires of the lyfe, vvhich not being letted, do cause deedes to ensue. Of appetite doe spryng, passions of the mynde, vvhich also doe cause men to attempt enterprises. Agayne, of deeds some haue sometimes such partes as be also deeds, and sometymes parts that be no deedes.

B.j. And



*The true order and methode of*

And bycause that every deede is done by some person , for some cause, in tyme , and place , vvith meanes and instrumēt: vve vvill therefore suppose that to be alvvayes true, as vvell in the principall deede , as in the meane and smallest deedes of all. And as the qualities , offices , and placyng of the members of a mans body , be diuers , and yet tende all to one ende, that is to saye, to the preservation of lyfe, and of the vvhole body : euen so all meaner deedes ought to be applyed to the accomplishinge of the principall deede. And if there be a principall deede, vnto the vvch all other inferiour deedes ought to be referred as to their finall ende: there muste needes be also a principall doer, vvhome all other inferiour doers



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

doers must obeye . Agayne , if there be a principall doer, there is also a principall cause , ruling all other inferiour causes, and also a principall time, place, meane, and instrument. And as deedes haue outvvardly belonging vnto them all the foresayd circumstances , so invvardly they doe comprehend three speciall thinges, vvhich doe runne thoroughout all the circumstaunces from the beginning to the ending. And they be these, possibilitie, occasiō, and successe. VVhich things the vvriter must declare, euen as they vvcre.

And as touching the doer ; to be knowvne vvhath he is, and to be knowvne as chiefe doer , is tvvo things, and requireth tvvo maner of proceedings. For vvee learne

B.ij.

vvhath

*The true order and methode of*

vvhath hee is, and vvhath maner of man, by knowving hys name, the name of his family, the countrie vvhether hee vvas borne and bredde, and such like things: but he is knowvne as chiefe doer, by his povver, skill, and industrie. For these three things doe bring to effect the possibilitie, occasion, and successe, of the deede. For the povver & ability of the doer, causeth the thing vvhich is possible, to be done in deede. Againe, his skill, causeth him to take occasion vvhhen it is offered, and to vse the meetest meanes to bring it to passe. Finally, hys industrie & earnest followving of the matter, bringeth the successe of the deede to perfection.

Povver consisteth chieflie in three things, that is, in riches, in publi-

*writing and reading histories. &c.*

publique auctoritie, and in pryuate estimation.

Skyll also consisteth in bodily force, in the boldnesse of naturall courage, in the sodayne motions of affectes, and in the stedfast habytes of the minde. For let no man thinke to doe anye vvoorthie enterpryse, or to bring any notable thing to good effect, vnlesse he be mooued therevnto by all or some of the qualities aboue sayde, vvhich the vvriter must declare at the full, if he mindeth that others shoulde receyue any good by his vvriting. And as it is not meete that the vvryter fayle in describing the deede, and the doer, rogether vvith all those partes vvhereby the deede vvas brought to effect: Euen so it behooueth in any vvise that amongest

*The true order and methode of*

gest the reast of the chiefest out-  
vvarde partes, he consider well  
the cause that mooued the doer  
to enterprise the deede, & to de-  
clare the same accordingly. And  
note here, that by the cause, I  
meane the ende. For the matter  
vvheron the doer vvorketh, is the  
deede of peace, of vvarre, or of  
sedicion. And the shape or forme  
thereof, is the meanes and maner  
of doing, vvwhich the doer vseth  
therein. And the cause efficient  
is the doer himselfe.

Affections also haue a fynall  
cause, as the ende of vvyrath, is re-  
uenge: of loue, the fruition of the  
thing beloued: and of mercy, the  
ende is helpe and comforte.

Nowve as touching the tyme,  
the vvriter ought to shevve the  
very moment as vvell of the be-  
ginning



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

ginning as of the ending of the deede, to the intent that the reader may knowe the continuance of the principall deede, and also of the inferiour deedes. And for the better knowledge of the oportunitie of affayres: It shalbe needefull somety me to note the daies according as they be eyther vvhote, or colde, cleare or clovydye, drye or moyste, vvindy or snowye, holy dayes or vvorking dayes, and vvithther it be in the morning, at noonetyde, or in the euening, and likevvise the nights togither vvith the differences of the tymes and seasons thereof, and fynally the very houre. For as the houre importeth much for doing of the deed, so it is very necessary that vve knowv the same.

The place may be eyther general,  
rall,



*The true order and methode of*  
rall, especiall, or particuler, as  
England, Nortfolke, & Norwich.

The meanes be diuers, for eue-  
rye thing is done eyther secrete-  
lye, or openly, orderly, or vvith-  
oute order. And hereto apper-  
tains all meanes and vvayes, that  
be vsed in gouerning states, in  
making lawes, in creating Ma-  
gistrates, in deliberating, in iud-  
ging, in appointing places, in pro-  
viding victuals, in gathering vp  
the publike reuenues, and a thou-  
sande such lyke thynges, of all  
vvhich things, it behooueth that  
the vvriter haue consideracion,  
& vvhen neede is, that he declare  
the same at large. And in spea-  
king of conspiracies, he must tell  
hovv the conspiratours came to-  
gyther, hovv they got fauours,  
and hovv they ended their enter-  
prise,

*writing and reading hystories.*

prise, howv they vvere chastised,  
or howve perhappes they escaped  
free, and such like. And in mat-  
ters of vvarre he must shevve in  
vvhat sort the same vvas made,  
and howv the Souldiours vvere  
leauyed, payd, exercised, and go-  
uerned, and howv the hoste vvas  
ordered in marching through the  
Countries in being incamped, in  
skirmuching, in fighting battels,  
eyther in playne field, or in place  
strongly trenched, or othervvise  
fortified, and howv they passed  
Mountaynes, Riuers, and Mar-  
rishes, howv they conueyed their  
cariages, artillerie, and munition,  
all vvch things, are very neces-  
sary to be knowvne, for to auoyd  
all euill happes that may hereaf-  
ter chaunce in like cases.

Of instruments vvhereby mans

C.j. lyfe

*The true order and methode of*  
lyfe is mayntayned in tyme of  
peace, yea, and also in tyme of  
sedition, there be in a manner in-  
finite kindes: but of such as men  
vse in tyme of vvarre, there are  
but foure principall, that is, foote-  
men, horsemen, armour, and na-  
uyc, all vvhich, according to the  
diuersitie of tymes and countries  
are diuersly vsed. For the Mace-  
donians, Grecians, Persians,  
and Romaines, dyd vse these  
things diuersly in diuers tymes,  
and dayly as occasion, tyme, and  
place, required: chaunged the  
maner of their armour asvell of-  
fensyue, as defensyue, and vve  
doe the like at this present vvhether-  
fore it is necessarye that the vvri-  
ter declare all such particularities  
at the full,

**Vvhose**

writing and reading hystories. &c.

## VVhose lyues ought to be chronicled.

**A**Ll those persons vvwhose  
lyues haue beene such as  
are to bee follovvved for  
their excellencie in vertue, or else  
to be fledde for their excellencie  
in vice, are meete to be chroni-  
cled. And if they vvvere publique  
personages or gouernours, then  
they are to be considered in as  
many diuers vvways, as there be  
diuers kindes of gouernement.  
VVhereof according to *Aristotle*,  
there be fixe, that is, a kingdome,  
a Tyriannye, the rule of many  
good men, the rule of few, migh-  
tye in povver: a common welth,  
and the rule of the base sorte of  
people, for euery one of these go-  
uernements hath his excellencie

C. ij.

pro-



*The true order and methode of*  
proper to himselfe, & diuers one  
from an other.

It is meete that the lyues of  
Princes shoulde bee chronicled  
that it may appeare how things  
vvere gouerned vnder euerye  
kinde of Prince, vvere he good  
or bad.

To gouernement belong two  
ciuill vertues, Prudence, and Iu-  
stice, and two mylitar vertues,  
that is, prudence, and fortitude.  
And vvhosoever by meanes of  
the two mylitar vertues hath  
done any notable actes, good, or  
euill, is meete to be chronicled:  
but the two ciuill vertues are o-  
therwise to be considered of. For  
iniustice the contrarie vice to iu-  
stice if it be open and manifest, it  
is of small force in ciuill actions,  
and the greater it is, the lesse po-  
uer



*writing and reading histories. &c.*

ver it hath to hurt. Againe, on the other side, mere iustice without prudence and fortitude, doth serue things vworthie of memorie, but if both the ciuill and mylitar vertues be ioyned together, they bee of great force, and doe bring to passe vvorks of excellencie, & vworthie of fame and memorie, and they may be mixt or compounded three manner of vvayes, for eyther they are both in the person of vvhome the historie is made, or else in the gouernement of the citie or cōmon vwealth, or else the one in the one, and the other in the other.

Amongst the ciuill sort are to be reckened Princes and Lordes of states, as Kings and Tirants, and also the Magistrats of common vvales. And as touching the vvarryours

*The true order and methode of*

vvarryours they be of tvvo sorts  
for eyther they bee home Soul-  
diours, bredde and borne in the  
same countrey, or else forryners  
that serue for hyer.

In vvriting the lyfe of anye  
man, you ought first to shew his  
proper name, the name of his fa-  
milie, and of vvhhat countrey he  
is, and then to declare his actes  
and deedes. And vvhatsocuer en-  
terprise any man taketh in hand,  
he doth it being mooued and pro-  
uoked therevnto, eyther by some  
outvvarde principle, or by some  
invvarde principle, if outvvarde,  
it is eyther by destinie, by force,  
or by fortune, if invvarde, then  
it is eyther by nature, by affec-  
tion, or by choyse and election,  
and such electiō springeth eyther  
of nature, or of some passion of  
the

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

the minde, of custome, or else of the discourse of reason.

The acts vvvhich vve doe, being forced by outvvvarde occasion, deserue neyther blame nor prayse, neyther are they to be followved or fled sith they proceede not of our ovyne courage or covvardlynesse. And therefore it shall suffice to make mention of these, so farre as they may cyther further or hinder those actions that spring of invvarde causes, vvvhich actions are most vvorthye to bee vvritten. I meane those actes vvvhich the person of whom you vvrite, dyd himselfe, and not the actes of his Auncetours, or that vvvere done parhaps in his tyme, hee deseruing to haue no parte thereof: neyther are all his actes to be vvritten, but those onely  
vvvhich

*The true order and methode of*  
vvhich are notable and may serue  
to some good example.

And as touching the invvarde  
causes: I meane here, by nature,  
that inclynacion vvhich a man  
hath from his cradle & by affec-  
tions: I meane certayne liuelve  
motions, as anger, loue, hatred  
put in execution. For so they  
bring foorth actions, cyther by  
sodain motions vwithout electiō,  
or else by some passion bred by  
custome, and growne to hab te.  
Some agayne doe spring of bare  
and simple discourse, accompa-  
nyed neither vwith passion or cu-  
stome. And some doe spring of  
discourse accustomed, cyther to  
vice or vertue. And therefore the  
vvriter in tellyng the actes and  
deeds, ought to shew of vvhich of  
these causes aboue sayde suche  
actes



*writing and reading hystories.*

actes proceeded, & specially those  
that vvere done vvith choyse and  
election.

And to doe this, vvell he ought  
to consider, that though the dis-  
course and affectiō from whence  
the action springeth, proceedeth  
for the most parte of nature: yet  
they be somtimes greatly increa-  
sed and augmented, by other  
things that are not naturall, as by  
the educatiō and nurture vvich  
man hath frō his tender yeres, or  
by the studies & exercises. here-  
to he is giuen in his ripe age. And  
these two things do vvork three  
effectes. First they do confirme a  
man in that vvherein hee hath  
bene trained, exercised & brought  
vp. Secondly, they frame his af-  
fections therevnto: And finally  
they breede by customē suche a

D.].

per-

*The true order and methode of*  
perfect habite in the minde , as  
being once gotten , is vvorthie  
eyther of prayse or disprayse.

To bring therefore into a bricfe  
summe those things vvhich are  
chiefly to bee considered by the  
vvryter, vvho hath to chronicle  
any mans life : I saye that they  
be these. The name of the man ,  
his familie, his parentes , and his  
Countrie, and also his destinie,  
fortune, and force or necessitie,  
(if they seeme manifestly to ap-  
pertayne to the action ) his na-  
ture, affections, and election,  
proceeding eyther of vvisedome,  
passion, or custome, his educa-  
tion, exercises, deedes, and spea-  
ches, and also the age, and time,  
vvherein euery notable acte was  
done, and the qualities of his bo-  
dye, vvhither they vvere signes  
and

and tokens of his mynde, or else helps to the actions. And as the vvriter is bounde to shevv the educatiō of the person chronickled, and those exercises, and studyes, vvhereby hee hath formed hys maners: so also he is bounde to tell euery deede, vvorde, signe, or token, that maye signifie eyther his māners, his nature, his affections, thoughts, or any maner of motion of the mynde.

For, sith that the minde is the fountayne and father of all actions, it behooueth vs to knowv that, as perfectly as is possible, to the intēt that in measuring thereby his deeds, and speeches, both profitable and hurtfull, vve may be able to iudge of their goodnesse or naughtinesse, both by that, vvwhich is honest or dishonest,

*The true order and methode of*

nest, profitable, or hurtfull in  
deede, and also by the apparance  
thereof.

And sith that to profite others  
vvee obserue in mans lyfe none  
other thing but deedis & speeches:  
It is needefull not onely to con-  
sider the thinges that go before,  
vvhich vve haue heretofore re-  
hearsed: but also those things,  
vvhich of necessitie doe accom-  
pany such deedis or speeches, that  
is to saye, the doer, the causes,  
the tyme, the place, the meane,  
and instrumentes and such lyke,  
in such sort as, the vvriter in due-  
lye obseruing these circumstan-  
ces, may set forth a true and ly-  
uely Image of both lyfe and  
man, whereof he maketh his hy-  
storie.

VVhat



writing and reading histories. &c.

## VVhat Profite hysto- ries doe yeelde.

**T**Very Citie or Countrey  
standeth vpon three prin-  
cipall pyonts, vnto one of  
vvhich all publique actions doe  
appertaine, that is, peace, sedition,  
and vvarre, & the first is the ende  
of the two last, in the vvhich  
ende, the happinesse of our lyfe  
cōsisteth and the accomlishment  
of three desires, vvhich we natu-  
rally haue first to lyue, secondly  
to lyue contentedly, or blessedly,  
and thyrldly, to lyue alwayes in  
that happinesse, so far as is possi-  
ble to mans nature, vvhich three  
things the latrans doe briofly vt-  
ter in this sort *Esse, bene esse, & sem-  
per esse.*

And as touching peace, first it  
is

*The true order and methode of*

is meeete to knowve the vvay vn-  
to it. And then to follovv that  
vvaye that vve maye attayne it.  
And by this vvord peace, I meane  
not onely that vvwhich consisteth  
in outvvarde actions, but also in-  
wardly in the mind. For, the out-  
ward peace (thanks be vnto God,  
& to our most gracious Queene  
vvith hir honourable Counsell,)  
vve do quietly enioy here in En-  
glande at this present, and haue  
done manye yeares: But the in-  
vvarde peace of the heart, and  
mynde, hovv small it is, God  
knowveth best.

The vvay to come to that peace  
vvherof I speake, is partly taught  
by the Philosophers in generall  
precepts and rules, but the Histo-  
riographers doe teache it much  
more playnlye by perticular ex-  
amples

*writing and reading histories &c.*

amples and experiences, and specially if they be vwritten vwith that order, diligence, and iudgement, that they ought to be.

And as the true peace standeth chiefly vpon the contentment of the mindes of the Citizins, as vpon hir proper foundation: euen so that cōtentment is grounded vpon the ciuill discipline, education law s, offices and duties, of euery order and companie in the Citie. And such peace is broken eyther by some invuarde cōmotion, or else by ourvuarde vuarre. If by invuarde sturre: then the cause thereof is sometime the lacke of things necessarie for the maintenaunce of lyfe, as of foode, apparell, and habitation, or dvveiling, vwherevvith those that are pitched, doe ryse  
cyther

*The true order and methode of*

either agaynst theyr owne Citizens, that doe abounde and haue plentie, or else against theyr neighbours, and borderers. And somtime the cause of such sturre may be for that they be not suffered to participate of the honors and dignities of the Citle, or common vveale. And sometyme they rise for excessiue tributes, & paymēts leauied by the chiefe heads. Agayne, sometime for injuries and vvrongs done by one to another, all which occasions being taken avway, the peace is easilye preserued, vnto vvhiche ende, all good lawes, orders & decrees, ought to rende, so as a man may rightly say, that peace vvholy consisteth in lawes vvell made and vvell kept.

And as for our vvard vvarre to be



be offered by the straunger, it is  
eyther open, or by the waye of  
treason. The vwaye to be prefer-  
ued from treason, consisteth in  
hauing good espyall, and true  
intelligence in vvell revwarding  
the discouersers of the treason, &  
in sharpely punishing the Tray-  
tours.

Open vvarre is eyther made  
to defende, or to offende, vvhich  
vvee ought alvwayes to flee, vn-  
lesse in not beginning it one way,  
wee shoulde be forced to begin  
it a nother waye to our disad-  
uantage.

Agayne, in open vvarre vve  
haue to deale eyther vvith those  
that be stronger, or those that be  
weaker then our selues, or else  
that be of equall power & force,  
to our selues. The weaker we

*The true order and methode of*  
neede not to feare, nor yet great-  
lye our equals, vnlesse some o-  
ther accidente chaunce. Where-  
fore we haue chieflye to with-  
stande those that are more migh-  
tie than vve be. Against whome  
we haue to worke so as eyther  
they may not assayle vs, or else  
in assailing vs, that they may not  
hurte vs. The first is to be done  
eyther by loue, or by feare: by  
loue, as when we procure peace,  
by payeing some trybute, and  
by acknowvledging their supe-  
rioritie, in receyuing such im-  
positions as they vwill laye vpon  
vs, or by appeasing them vvyth  
pleasures, vvyth guyftes, and re-  
vvardes, or with graunting traf-  
fique and trade of marchaundise,  
by marriage, and such like.

We shall driue them from as-  
say-

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

sayling vs by feare, in preparing  
or in seeming to haue prepared  
all thinges necessary as well to  
offende, as to defende.

Againe if the enimie do assaile  
vs, he will eyther beate and waste  
our frontires, or else enter into  
the mayne lande. Against both  
vvhich daungers it shalbe neede-  
full to make the frōtires strong,  
and to furnish them vvell with  
men, and Munition, so as he  
shall not be able to enter at all,  
or at the least in entring he shall  
haue small assuraunce of him-  
selfe, leauing his enemies behinde  
at his backe. And being entered  
we haue to vvithstande him two  
vvays, that is, eyther by famine,  
or by fraude, otherwise called  
wily pollicie, for by force we can  
not, hauing all ready presupposed

E.ij.

his

*The true order and methode of*  
his force to be greater than ours.

The action of vvarre consisteth in three principall points, that is, in lodging or incamping, in marching, and in fighting.

To incamping do belong foure considerations, that is, that the place be commodious for vwater, for victuall, for safetie, and for health.

In marching vve haue to passe eyther through our ovvne countrie, or through a straunge countrie, the inhabitants whereof are eyther our friendes, our foes, or suspecte, yea, and sometime perhappes hauing our enemyes at our backes.

Of fighting, there be also three kindes, that is, skirmishing, a pitched fieelde, or the assaultring of some fortified place, be it campe,  
or



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

or towne : which also are woont to be defended by some, or by all of these three vvayes, that is, cyther by nature, by art, or by force of men . And as all other things that haue a beginning haue an ende, so likevvise hath warre. For by one of these foure meanes all vvarres for the most part are ended, cyther by victorie, by great ouerthrowe, by accorde and agreement, or else by pouertye and for lacke of povver & force, chauncing cyther to the one side, or to both, and so at length warre resorteth againe to peace, as to his finall ende.

Nowe as touching sedition, it is alvvayes mooued cyther by the inferiour sorte, vvch seeketh to be made equall to their superiours, or else by those that being equall

*The true order and methode of*


equall, vvoulde be superiour to the reast : vvch sedition is to bee suppressed, eyther by fayre meanes, or by fovvle meanes, by gentlenesse, or by sharpnesse, as vvhen the faultours, and first beginners thereof, are sharplye punished, eyther by the Magistrates according to lavve, or else by the force of the other Citizens. Agayne such sedition may be appeased by gentlenesse two maner of vvayes, that is, eyther by the authoritie of some graue personage, that is beloued, and had in admiration amongst the people, or else by graūting them the things vvch were the cause of their rising.

These be the three generall actions of any Citie, Prince, or common vveale, and be deuided  
in-

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

into many particuler parts, which  
vveought diligently to obserue  
in histories vvith such considera-  
cion, as vve may learne thereby,  
hovv one selfe effect springeth of  
one selfe cause, and hovv the cō-  
trarie proceedeth of his contrary.  
And the like of his like, for the  
diuersitie of things being a thing  
infinite, can not be obserued.

Of the duryc and office of  
hystoriographers, and what or-  
der and disposition in writing  
hystories, they ought  
to vse.

 F those that make anye  
thyng, some doe make  
much of nothing, as God  
dyd in creating the Worlde of  
naught, and as Poets in some re-  
spect also doe, vvhist they faine  
fables and make thereof theyr  
poesies,

*The true order and methode of*

poesies, and poeticall Hystories: some agayne of more doe make lesse, as keruers & grauers of Images, and other such like artificers, some of little doe make much, & of much little, as the Oratours vvhylest sometyme they extoll small things, & sometime abase great things. And some doe make of so much as much, as true Philosophers and Hystoriographers, vvwhose office is to tell things as they vvvere done vvwithout either augmenting or diminishing them, or svvaruing one iote from the truth. VVhereby it appeareth that the hystoriographers ought not to fayne anye Orauions nor any other thing, but truely to reporte euery such speach, and deede, euen as it vvvas spoken, or done.

In



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

In hystories things vvoulde be disposed according to their owne proper nature , and therefore sith in euery action there must needs be a dooer, or vvorker, the hystorie muste first make mention of hym, and then shewe the cause that mooued him to doe, to what intent and ende , in vvhat place, and vvith vvhat meanes and instruments. And bycause tyme doth accompany all maner of actions , and euery action hath his proper and peculier tyme , the vvriter must giue to euery action his devve time accordingly.

And if the deede or action be compounded of dyuers partes, vvhich be also actions, the like order is to be obserued in euery such part as ought to be kept in one simple action, and specially

F. j.      vvhen

*The true order and methode of*

vvhhen the parts follovv one after another. But if many actions appertayning as partes to one selfe ende, shalbe done in one selfe tyme, sith it is vnpossible to tell them all at once, they muste needs be tolde one after another. And synce they may be declared eyther broken by peece meale, or else whole together, it is best to tell them vvhole, noting in euerye one the tyme, vvherein such deede vvas done. For to tell them othervvise vvoulde breede both darcknesse and tediousnesse to the reader.

If many actions are to be vvritten vvvhich do belong to one selfe ende, and are some vvay lynked together one vvith an other, the vvriter ought first to bring one alone to such termes & bounds,  
as

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

as without feare of causing anye darckenesse or troubling the readers memorie, he may fitly staye there, vntill he hath brought euery one of the other actions to the like tearmes, and then begin againe with the first, proceeding so orderly from one to an other, vntill he hath made an ende of all. But hauing to tell diuers actes not tending to one self end, then vwho doubteth, but that he ought to tell euery acte entyer as it is, euen from the beginning to the ending. Thus much touching the order of writing Hystories.

VVhat order and methode is to be obserued in reading hystories.

F.ij.

VVho

*The true order and methode of*

**W**Ho so is desirous to know  
howe hystories are to bee  
readde, had neede first to  
knowe the endes and purposes  
for vvhich they are vvritten.  
VVhereof though there be di-  
uers as some to vvinne fame to  
the vvriter and some to delight  
the readers eares that reade only  
to passe avvay the time and such  
like: yet in my opinion there  
are but three chiefe & principall.  
First that vve may learne there-  
by to acknowvledge the proui-  
dence of God, vvherby all things  
are gouverned and directed. Se-  
condly, that by the examples of  
the vvise, vve maye learne vvise-  
dome vvysely to behaue our sel-  
ues in all our actions, as vvell  
priuate as publique, both in time  
of peace and vvarre.

Thirdly,



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

Thirdly, that vve maye be stirred by example of the good to follovv the good, and by example of the euill to flee the euill.

As touching the prouidence of God, vve haue to note for what causes and by vvhath meanes hee ouerthrowveth one kingdome & setteth vp an other. For though things many times doe succcede according to the discourse of mas reason: yet mans vvisedome is oftentymes greatlye deceyued. And vvith those accedets which mans vvisedome reiecteth and little regardeth: God by his prouidence vseth, vvhen he thinketh good, to vvorke marueylous effects. And though he suffereth the vvicked for the most part to liue in prosperitie, and the good in aduersitie: yet vve maye see by  
many

*The true order and methode of*

many notable examples , declaring aswell his vvrath , and reuenge tovvardes the vvicked , as also his pittie and clemencie tovvardes the good , that nothing is done by chaunce, but all things by his foresight, counsell, and diuine prouidence.

Humane vvisdome hath three principall partes, the first vvhereof teacheth vs rightlye to iudge of all thinges, vvhat is to be desired , and vvhat is to be fled. The seconde , howe and by vvhat meanes vve may best attayne to the things which vve desire. The thirde teacheth vs to take occasiō vvhen it is offered and to foresee all peril that may hap. And the first part requireth tvvo considerations. First to knowe by the examples of others , vvhyther those

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

those thinges vvhich vve desire  
and seeme to vs good , be good  
in deede or not: and secondlye  
vvhat the obtayning therof vvill  
cost . For manye tymes those  
things vvhich seeme good, haue  
bene cause of great euil, as riches,  
honour, and greatnesse, vvhich  
euill proceedeth either of the na-  
ture of the things themselues, or  
by euill vsing the same, as for ex-  
ample , by theyr ovvne nature,  
honour, and greatnesse , causeth  
enuie . And riches sometyme  
causeth both enuie , murder, and  
robberie. Againe, riches by e-  
uill vsing them , doe cause the  
ovvner manye times to be dis-  
daynfull, prowde, arrogant, & to  
leade a dissolute lyfe , hating all  
vertuous exercises. Contrary-  
vvise, those thinges that seeme e-  
uill

*The true order and methode of*

will are many tymes causes of great good, partly by their owne nature, and partly for being vwell employed, and turned to good vse. As pouertie of hir ovvne nature maketh a man industrious. Agayne, if a man bee defamed or slandered by hys foes, hee taketh occasion thereby, to correct his ovvne faulte, and so turneth theyr slander to his great gayne and commoditie. The other consideracion of the fyrst parte of humane vvisedome, is as I sayde before, to consider howe much the thing vvich vve desire vvill cost. For the cost maye be such as vve vvare better to be vvithout our desire, than to haue it. And therefore in valuing this cost, vvee haue to consider our labour, and traueyle, our expen-



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

penses, and losse of tyme, also  
vvhat perilles, displeasures and  
griefes myght chaunce vnto vs  
by hauing it, and vvhat commo-  
dities vve may enioye in being  
vvithout it. Againe, to vvay the  
certaintie of the euills vvheron  
vve venter, and the incertayntie  
of obtayning the good vvwhich  
vve seeke, vvwhich is made mani-  
fest vnto vs by the examples of  
many vvwhich haue long sought,  
deare bought, and yet obtayned  
naught. Moreouer, it shall be  
needefull to compare the long  
time of our traueyle, and great  
charges, vvith the short tyme of  
enioying the thing vvwhich vve  
are to obtayne. It importeth al-  
so not a little to remember that  
many tymes, things doe seeme  
vnto vs more precious and more

G.j.

goodly

*The true order and methode of*  
goodly vvhyleft vve seeke them,  
than vvhen we haue gotten the.  
And in seeking them by vnlavv-  
full meanes, vve haue to note  
what reuenge God is vyoont to  
take of such doinges, and hovve  
short a tyme & vvith what trou-  
ble, hee suffereth vs to enioye  
them. So cōtraryvvise, vve haue  
to note vvith hovv small trauell,  
and vvith hovv little charges, a  
most great good benefite, is many  
tymes obtrayned. As touching  
the second part of humane wise-  
dome, sith some easily, and some  
hardlye, doe attayne the thing  
vvhich they seeke. It is needefull  
in reading Hystories, to obserue  
vvell euery thing that hath bene  
done, by vvhom, to vvhat ende,  
and vvhat meanes vvcre vsed for  
the accomplishment thereof, and  
vvhy-

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

vwhyther suche endes by suche  
meanes, are alvvayes, or for the  
most part, or seldome or neuer  
obtayned, and vvhither all men  
dyd vse therein lyke meanes or  
diuers, & if diuers, vvhich tooke  
effecte, and vvhich did not, and  
vvhath maner of thinges those be,  
vwithout the vvhich, the ende  
cannot be obtayned. And by  
vvhath accidents the same is hin-  
dered, and vvhich are vvoont to  
chaunce often, and vvhich more  
seldome, also vvhich may be for-  
seene and vvhich cannot. And of  
euery meane vve haue to consi-  
der all the qualities and circum-  
staunces that make to the pur-  
pose, & from vvhence euery one  
sprange, vvhither of industrie or  
of chaunce. In the obseruing of  
meanes to attayne the ende, it is

G.ij.

meete

*The true ord<sup>r</sup> and methode of*

meete to marke vvell the order of those meanes, and howe they are linked together, vvhich order may proccede three maner of vvaies, that is, eyther in beginning vvyth the verye first thing that tendeth to any ende, and so forwarde from one thing to another, vntil you come to the last, or else contraryvwise in beginning vwith the last meane, next to the ende, and so backevarde from meane to meane vntill you come to the first, or leauing both these vvaies, you maye take the thirde, which is to deuide all the meanes into their general kinds, and to consider of all the meanes contayned in euery kinde, apart by themselves, of all which three vvayes, lo here the examples in one selfe matter of vvarre, had  
vwith



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

vwith some forraine Nation.

VVherin if you do first note the  
establisment of truce, and peace  
vwith your mightie neighbours,  
& vwith those that might harme  
you at home, and then the pro-  
uision of mony and of armour,  
the choise of chiefetaines, the lea-  
uiyng of souldiours, the order of  
their gouernement in marching,  
in incamping, and in fighting,  
and so forth from one meane to  
an other, euen to the victorie,  
you shall followv the first order,  
but if you begin at the victorie,  
and cōsider the next causes there-  
of, as to haue fought vwith more  
valiauntnesse, or vvyth greater  
force, or vwith more aduauntage  
eyther of place, time, or occasion,  
& then vwhat vvas the cause or  
causes of that, & vwhereof euey  
thing

*The true order and methode of*

thing proceeded, returning still  
backeward, euen to those things  
vvhich in the first order vvere  
first to be considered: you shall  
obserue the seconde order. But if  
you examine euery thing by it  
selfe as the establishing of peace,  
and cōfirmacion of leagues, and  
truces with neighbours, the pro-  
uision of mony, men, & Muni-  
tion, the order of Marching, in-  
camping, and fighting, and so all  
the reast of the meanes reducing  
euery thing to his generall kind  
without obseruing vvhath vvas  
first or last done, (so as you com-  
prehende in youre diuision no-  
thing, but those meanes that ap-  
pertayne to the obtrayning of the  
victorie,) then you shall obserue  
the thirde order. The first order  
properly belongeth to him that  
labou-

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

laboureth to come to some ende  
and is meete for the first reading  
of any Hystorie, sith all thinges  
are vvoont to be tolde in suche  
order as they were done. The se-  
conde order is very necessary to  
iudge of euerye thing, vvhath is  
vvell or euill done and to consi-  
der better attervvarde of those  
thinges, vvich vvete not easye  
to be well cōsidered of at the first.

Also vvhen a thing vvas not to  
be obtayned by one meane, vvhi-  
ther it might be obtayned by an  
other meane or not, and vvhere  
want is, what meane vvete most  
mete to supply eche others place.

But if so much knowvledge were  
not to bee gathered oute of that  
tale, or Hystorie, then to cōsider  
by vvhat meanes the lyke ende  
had bene obtayned else vvhere.

VVherby

*The true order and methode of*

VVherby you shall see, that one hath brought a thing to passe by one meane vvhicke an other could not doe the like by an other meane.

In vsing this consideration in many like causes & declaratiōs: you shalbe able quickely to discern vvwhich meanes bee good and vvwhich be not, to bring anye thing to passe. The third order is good for him that hath obserued the tvvo first orders, to reduce all things into a brieve summe, that he may the more easily commit them to memorie, or vvhen he hath, to put any thing in execution as to make diuers prouisiōs, or to distribute to diuers persons diuers charges and offices. But vvho so euer doth consider and examine euerye thing, that is  
of



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

of any moment or importance by all these three orders aforesayde : cannot choose but reape of his labour great benefite. And bycause vve finde manye tymes , that like meanes haue bene vsed to the obtaining of like endes, (as vve suppose) & yet not vvith like successe, we ought therefore diligently to consider the diuers natures of thinges, and the differences of tymes, and occasions, and such like accidents, to see if vve can possibly finde out the cause why mens purposes haue taken effect at one time, and not at an other. And by noting all that hath bene sayde, touching the nature and propertie of anye thing, vve shall learne vvich accidentes are yvoont to accompanie together and vvich not. Thus much touching the first and seconde part of

H.j.      humaine

*The true order and methode of*  
humaine vvisedome.

Novv to the thirde part, vvherby we are taught not only to note the taking and leauing of all occasions and opportunities, vvhereby anye good hath bene procured: but also all the daungers of euills, that eyther in tyme haue beene vvyselye foreseene, and fled: or into vvhich for lacke of foresight, men haue headlong fallen, having therein regarde to euery mannes state, condition, facultie, profession, and other such like circumstaunces, to the intent that vve our selues may learne thereby to doe nothing vnadvisedly. And as the examples of prosperous successes, vvhich God hath gyuen as iuste revvardes to those, that vvoorke according to vertue: the great good will and loue that all men haue tovvardes them:

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

them : their fame, glorie, & praise,  
sounding in all mens mouthes, and  
finally their immortalitie in being  
chronycked for their noble actes, do  
chiefely serue, to sturre vs, to ver-  
teous, honest, and commendable  
doinges: Euen so, nothing is more  
meete to dravve vs from vice, and  
dishonest dealing, than the exam-  
ples of euill successes, vvhich God  
hath giuen to the vvicked, as pu-  
nishments for theyr euill deserts:  
their shame & infamie : the ha-  
tred & enmitie, ~~that they procure~~  
to themselves, not onelye vvhi-  
lest they lyue, but also after their  
death : the Infamie which they  
leauie to their familye, posteritie, &  
countrie, vvwhose secrete wycked  
deeds, are layde open to the world  
by vvritten Hystorie, in such sort,  
as men vvill not for shame once

H. ij.

name

*The true order and methode of*

name those persons, vvhicke in their life time, woulde be honored as Gods. Moreouer, to this thirde part doe appertayne, all the great labours, expenses, and perils, that noble minded men haue sustained, eyther in following that vvhicch is good and commendable, or in fleeing that vvhicch is euill, & detestable. And to the intent that in our reading vve omitte nothing vvorthie to be noted : vve maye not make ouer much haste, but rather reade leysurely and vvith Iudgement, that remembring euerye thing meete to be obserued : vvee may fitly applie the same to some good purpose, and make it to serue our tourne, vvhen neede is. And though vve seeke by reading Histories, to make our selues more wyse, asvvell to direct our ovvne actions,



*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

actions, as also to counsell others,  
to sturre them to vertue, and to  
vvithdravve them from vice, and  
to beautifie our ovvne speache  
vvith graue examples, vvhen vve  
discourse of anye matters, that  
therby it may haue the more auc-  
thoritie, waight, and credite: yet  
there is some difference of conside-  
ration to be had, when by exam-  
ples wee mynde to profite oure  
selues, & when vve minde to pro-  
fite others. For manye tymes a  
thing of small importaunce, maye  
eyther quicken, or confirme in our  
selues a part of vvisedome of great  
importaunce, but in counselling o-  
thers ( if wee woulde haue our  
woordes to be of force and effica-  
cie) vve muste vse those examples  
that be of waight and importance.  
And therefore vvhen we finde any  
such

*The true order and methode of*

such in our reading, vve must not onely consider of them, but also note them apart by themselves in such order, as we may easily finde them, when soeuer we shall haue neede to vse them. And the order of such examples, would not be altogether according to the names of the persons, from vvhence they are takē, which order some writers do commonlye vse in the tables of theyr bookes, but rather according to the matters & purposes vvherto they serue. Neyther is it sufficient in this behalfe, to haue onely common places of vertues and vices, or of thinges commendable, and not commendable, but other places also besydes them, meete to be applyed to euerye one of those partes of obseruacion, vvhiche vvee seeke, vvhich places are to be

*writing and reading hystories. &c.*

be founde, ordered, and disposed,  
not before vvee begin to reade,  
but whylest wee continue in rea-  
ding, and in obseruing all kynde  
of matters euery day vvith better  
iudgement than other. And by  
considering vnder what title euery  
example is to be placed ( for the  
ready finding thereof ) vvee shall  
greatlye helpe our memorie. But  
nowve to conclude, as he that ma-  
keth these obseruaciōs in reading  
Hystories, shall reape, in my opi-  
nion that fruite which is proper,  
to that kynde of studye, and bee  
able therby greatly to profite both  
himselſe, and his commō vvealth:  
So I can not tell vvhyther I may  
deryde, or rather pittie the great  
follie of those vvich hauing con-  
sumed all theyr lyfe tyme in hy-  
stories, doe knowv nothing in the  
ende,

*The true order and methode of*  
ende, but the discentes, genealoges,  
and petygrees, of noble men, and  
vvhhen such a King or Emperour  
raigned, & such lyke stuffe, vvhich  
knowvledge though it be necessa-  
rie and meete to be obserued, yet it  
is not to be cōpared to the knowv-  
ledge, that is, gotten by such ob-  
seruacions as vve require, & be of  
greater importaunce: to the obtay-  
ning vvhereof, I vvish all rea-  
ders of Hystories, to em-  
ploye theyr chiefest  
studye, care, &  
diligence.

(.?..)

**F I N I S.**

